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# MORMONISM:

## AN ADDRESS,

BY

HON. D. C. HASKELL, M. C., OF KANSAS,

AT THE NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, IN CHICAGO, JUNE 8, 1881.

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# ADDRESS.

The history of the founding of a nation, the rise and progress of a religious sect, or order, the primary steps in the organization of society, whether on old plans or new, present many features in common. Old methods clad in renovated garb are often employed by peculiar agents, under unusual circumstances; occasionally a new idea presents itself, or an old one long since discarded is reproduced in a new setting, but if the nation, sect, or order be successful, the record is full of interest.

The Mormon articles of faith, considered separately, are most ancient; as a creed its novelty is in its grouping.

The world is proffered, by this organization which we are about to consider, a bundle of religious dogmas that, taken as a whole, without knowledge of the existence of a church which professed to accept them, would be regarded by the theological student as intended for a caricature of the religious idea. The Mormon hierarchy has resurrected also a system of social relationship which at best is but a bestial relic of barbarism, and has thrust it forward with a zeal and a tenacity of purpose that, while it impeaches both their wisdom and their purity, surprises us into a sort of admiration for their misemployed courage.

After the whole civilized world has branded polygamy as a crime, a religious sect, professedly more Christian than any other, claiming to be led day by day by divine revelation, coming through an infallible priesthood, has succeeded in establishing it here—in the United States—and so firmly, that it has resisted for over thirty years all efforts to dislodge it, either by moral or governmental force. However corrupt and unscrupulous their leaders may be, the Mormon people will be found to be not without virtues, and to present commendable features. This fact serves to make the continuance of this, their "peculiar institution," all the more an obstacle and a peril to Christian civilization.

A history in detail of the rise and progress of the Mormon church, from the discovery in New York of the mystic plates from which it is alleged Joseph Smith and his coadjutors translated the Book of Mormon, rivals in interest the Homeric tales of the adventures of Achilles.

It is unfortunate for the would-be believer in Mormonism that a celes-

tial messenger very early became the custodian of those wonderful tablets. More unfortunate that Professor Anthon, the distinguished linguist, should have pronounced the whole thing a hoax, and after an examination of a copy of the characters upon the plates declared them to be "a singular medley of Greek, Hebrew and all sorts of letters, ending in a rude representation of the Mexican Zodiac" And most unfortunate that the three principal witnesses to the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris, were charged by the Mormons themselves, as early as 1838, with lying, theft and counterfeiting, and "cut off" from the church.

However, in 1830 the Book of Mormon was published, and it has since been translated into various foreign languages. In April of that year, "The Church of Christ" was organized in Seneca County, New York, with six members. A revelation from the Lord commanded the New York saints, soon after, to remove to Kirtland, Ohio, where Sidney Rigdon, an early convert, had secured some accessions to the church, and at that place was built the first Mormon house of worship, in 1836. Here Brigham Young, a painter and glazier, a native of Vermont, but at that time a resident of New York, joined his fortunes to those of Smith and the church, in 1833.

A special revelation gave to Smith and Rigdon the outlines of a financial system, but it was not potent enough to save the bank they organized from the fate of similar "wild cat" institutions, and in January, 1838, these two worthies fled from Kirtland, in the middle of the night, toward a new Zion that had been located in Jackson County, Missouri, followed by a band of infuriated creditors, from whom they barely escaped. The intent of the pursuers, according to Gentile authorities, was to administer justice. The fleeing bankers, however, denominated the pursuit persecution. Up to the date of this hegira, the members of the new church had been deemed fanatical, but honest. The Kirtland Colony was soon after broken up, and the eastern Mormons removed to Jackson County, Missouri.

A fiery anniversary speech made by Rigdon, in which he threatened the enemies of the church with bloody retribution for the persecutions it had suffered, aggravated the troubles that had existed between the Mormons and their Missouri neighbors, and the result was several bloody encounters, and numerous prosecutions in the courts resulting therefrom. The troubles finally culminated. Gov. Boggs made a call on the militia of the State and issued an order for the expulsion of the Mormons, or their extermination, branding them as the enemies of the State, living in the attitude of "open and avowed defiance of its laws."

Prior to this time the revelations which had come to the prophet Smith, had assured them that the "sword of the Lord and of Gideon" would protect them, but when their expulsion from Missouri was assured and about to be consummated, the revelations fortunately changed in tone,

and Smith set himself to the task of perfecting an organization for his people, that might he relied upon to give potency to these "divine decrees."

The incidents attendant upon their forced retirement from Missouri created for them something of sympathy abroad, and, moved by the recitals of the wrongs they had suffered, certain citizens of Illinois offered them an asylum in that State. A convenient revelation induced them to select a spot on the east bank of the Mississippi, above Quincy, and the scattered saints gathered in the little town of Commerce, afterward named Nauvoo. It is estimated that they numbered at this time about two thousand souls. During their occupancy of Missouri, they were distributed through several counties, and a few of them had penetrated as far south and west as what is now the Cherokee country of the Indian Territory.

In 1842, it is stated, that Smith predicted the establishment of the Mormons in the Rocky Mountains, foretold the war of the Rebellion, indicated his intention of foundiug a new and theocratic government, turned his attention to politics, casting the Mormon vote alternately with the Whig and Democratic parties, as the interests of his church would seem to demand. In 1844 he became a candidate for the presidency of the United States, but in the same year was taken from the jail in Carthage, Illinois, where he had been lodged to await trial for various alleged crimes, and killed by a mob. In 1846 and '47, an advance or exploring party, under Brigham Young, visited Salt Lake Valley, established a colony, and built a fort. In 1848 the Mormons gathered there founded Salt Lake City. Brigham Young having assumed Smith's place as head of the church and prophet of the Lord.

Without at this time entering upon a discussion of the causes which led to the many difficulties they encountered, without asserting the truth or falsity of the many charges preferred against them, it is, perhaps, enough to say that they were charged with all the crimes in the catalogue, and that from the time they left Kirtland, up to 1870, they displayed a conspicuous inability to live in peace with their Gentile neighbors. The same causes that led to the hegira from Kirtland, seems in large part to have induced their expulsion from Missouri, and their forced exodus from Nauvoo; in this last flight abandoning homes, farms, and cultivated fields, a town half as large as Salt Lake City, and an almost completed temple that had cost them nearly five hundred thousand dollars.

It is doubtful if there was ever exhibited in the world's history a greater or a worse managed zeal, a more hopeless fanaticism, or a stronger faith in a grander imposture, than that which characterized the Mormons in this unparalleled movement. They started in mid-winter, homeless, hungry, sick and illy clad. They crossed over the Mississippi River on the ice, following with unfaltering faith the directions of the Holy Twelve, and began that long dreary march of death across Iowa and the Missouri, over the almost trackless plains, past the craggy peaks of the Rockies, into the apparently barren valley of Salt Lake, there to found a community, trans-

form a desert into a garden by their industry, all at the behest of a corrupt, priestly oligarchy, in behalf of a religious system, mephitic, retrogressive and adulterate, that wounds Christian civilization everywhere most sorely, and taints American society with a moral gangrene.

In that valley, the saints hoped to see the fulfillment of the prophecies that had promised them the establishment of a permanent earthly Zion, and an independent and theocratic government for their State, to which they gave the name of Deseret. Congress, however, in 1850, ignored "Deseret," and established a territorial government over "Utah." President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young Governor, S. M. Blair United States Attorney, J. L. Heywood United States Marshal, and for the first time a polygamist, whose eight wives had been privately sealed to him, became a part of the executive machinery of the United States Government. In 1855 Brigham Young was re-appointed by President Pierce.

In the early history of Utah, much to the disgrace of the nation, many of the federal officers, Gentiles, allowed themselves to be courted by the Mormon authorities, merely to secure undue official favor. Some even lived in open debauchery, and of course were utterly in the power of Young and the priesthood. Others, if favorable to the church, seemed to possess the power of saving quite large sums of money from quite small salaries, and were held in high repute. Others, if unfavorable while they remained poor, were nevertheless found soon to be great thieves and rascals, and were removed from office. One obdurate wretch was discovered dead in his bed, soon after a quarrel with Brigham Young. The Mormon investigators said he died of "some disease of the head," others said "opium," and an occasional Gentile, "poison." It is not difficult to see how, in this condition of affairs, the saints were enabled to lay the foundations of their civil and religious structure so broad and deep that they have successfully resisted all efforts to undermine them.

In 1856 Utah had become a very Babylon of moral uncleanness, so rotten as to shock even Brigham Young, when he became aware of its extent, for it seriously threatened the stability of his government. The "Reformation" of 1856–7 followed, wherein elders of the church openly preached the shedding of blood for the graver crimes against their ecclesiastical law, and "saints" were taught to earn salvation by what we call murder and suicide. The church was purified and strengthened by the most arbitrary and atrocious methods known to a priestly despotism, but the escaping apostates and the Gentiles gave to the world glimpses of polygamous Mormonism that thoroughly aroused the whole country, and in 1856 a political party placed upon its banners the motto: "The abolition of slavery and polygamy, twin relics of barbarism." That party is in power to-day. On the 24th of July, 1857, Brigham Young declared the independence of Deseret, and began preparation for war with the United States. On the 15th of September the Mountain Meadow Massacre occurred.

It is impossible at the present time to enter upon a recital of this and

other horrors that so etain the pages of Mormon history, during the era known to the Mormon church as the Reformation, in fact hetween the years 1850 and 1860. The Mormon priesthood is largely responsible for them, since they not only controlled the local government, but preached the doctrines that in their practical application produced the results. The Mormon war ended in the expenditure of much treasure, but happily of little hlood. It proved what wars always prove—that one party wae stronger than the other—nothing more. It changed no one's opinion, eave poesihly on that point. It left the Mormon church where it found it, intrenched in ignorance and fanaticism. It did produce, however, a change in policy. The church wisely threw away its arms, hut it invoked the aid of its present allies, silence, secrecy, and cunning.

The war having ended, the federal officers returned to the Territory. Young, seeing that he could not resist the United States authorities hy force of arms, organized his church for resistance to the execution of law, by wily maneuvers and secret policies of obstruction. The courte were unahle to punish treason, or any other crime, and it is stated that one United States judge entered upon his docket this declaration: "The whole community presents an united and organized opposition to the administration of justice." Government warrants were forged, murders committed, rohheries perpetrated, almost with impunity. The government at Washington declared that the military could only he used on the call of the Governor. The Governor would not make the call. The courts were powerless, and crime went unpunished. Congressional investigation was asked for, but Congress, witb its usual slow conservatism, by the time the petitioners reached Washington with their papers, generally came to the conclusion that tbe crimes were old and stale, and refused its aid.

The following from a letter to the President, hy a Federal officer of Utah, written in 1874, will explain one of the difficulties encountered at that time: "Brigham Young," saye the writer, "is very rich, made so by the most high-handed impositions upon his deluded people. Of late years he has become rapidly richer. He has repeatedly hoasted in public of what he claims to have done with money in Washington. It is known that he keeps emissaries there during every session of Congress. Within the last few years, the Cullom bill, the Voorhees hill, the Logan bill, and the McKee bill, have all gone to their graves, and now the Poland bill seems to be dying."

The last attempt made for admission into the Union was in 1873. The Territory had then, and has now, a eufficient population. The Mormons declare that they are denied admission because of the unpopularity of their religion. It is due rather to the unpopularity of polygamy. The population of Utah, in 1870, wae about 88,000. Salt Lake City at that time contained a population of about 12,000. The population of Utah, ae ehown by the recent census, is 143,906, of which there are, males, 74,470; females, 69,436. Salt Lake has 20,768 soule. We have no data, ae yet, from the

census office, showing the number of Mormons and Gentiles, respectively, in Utah, but the estimates range from 10 to 20 per cent., as Gentiles, out of the entire population.

While there is a larger number of females, proportionately, than in most of the Territories, there seems to be in Utah, even under polygamous practices, more males than females, as there is also in the world's population; and the Mormon argument in defense of polygamy, that wifehood should not be denied to any woman who so desires, does not appear to have much weight, since there is not even *one* wife for each male citizen. Human nature is the same, the world over, and unless under some sort of duress, from law, or fanaticism, or priestly coercion, no moderately intelligent woman would, of her own free will, choose a polygamous wifehood. In the full knowledge of her rights, and given power to maintain them, it is safe to assert that she would not be content with the sixteenth part of her rightful property, be that property, real estate, bank stock, or husband.

Hon. George Q. Cannon, Mormon Delegate to Congress, from Utah, in the May number of the *North American Review*, writes as follows:

"It is seldom that, even among the intelligent and well-read, one can be found who can give a correct statement of the doctrines of the Latter Day Saints or Mormons, or who can explain the true character of their system."

Quite true, and there are many reasons therefor.

1st. It will be found very difficult to harmonize Mormon authorities.

2d. The careful student of Mormon theology and Mormon history will not fail to notice that the *written* doctrines and covenants are not entirely harmonious with the *practices* of the church.

3d. The Mormon doctrine of special revelations from God to an infallible priesthood makes it nearly impossible to state with critical accuracy the doctrines of Mr. Cannon's church.

It leaves his people to be guided by their priesthood in whatever road of faith and practice they may mark out. Their prophet is their lawgiver, who speaks as he is inspired. Said Heber C. Kimball, one of the Apostles, in 1856:

"I have often said that the word of our Leader and Prophet is the word of God to this people. We cannot see God. We cannot hold converse with him, but he has given us a man that we can talk to and thereby know his will, just as well as if God himself were present with us."

Mr. Cannon says that the Mormon church accepts the Bible as its guide, and that it teaches that salvation is to be hoped for through Jesus Christ. It also accepts the Book of Mormon, "The Doctrine and Covenant," and various alleged revelations to Joseph Smith and others. Assuming to base their theological structure on the Bible, they displace a large portion of it, by the adoption of the Book of Mormon; the Doctrine and Covenants set at naught a considerable part of the Book of Mormon,

and the special revelations make a wretched havoc with the Doctrine and Covenants.

The Book of Mormon purports to be the history of a few families who left Jerusalem or the East, in the early days of the Jewish nation. They were directed and controlled by revelation from God, and crossed the Pacific Ocean to the west coast of America, now Central America, working their way to the north and east. They increased in numbers for a while rapidly, but finally became embroiled with savage tribes, and were exterminated in a great battle fought about 400 or 500, A.D., near the place where the plates were discovered by Joseph Smith. Moroni, son of Mormon, a general in their army, had charge of the records of the nation, and engraved a portion of them on the plates which Smith afterward translated. The book is a clumsy imitation of the Jewish Scriptures, full of unpardonable inaccuracies of all sorts, and seems to have been inspired by a contemplation of the possible adventures of that pre-historic race, known to the American archeologist as the Mound-Builders. The Doctrine and Covenants is a compilation of the revelations to Smith, with a chapter containing declarations of belief.

Their faith, accepting their own acknowledged authorities, includes the following points of doctrine:

Its foundation, they claim, is Biblical and Christian. Then follow the revelations to Joseph Smith; then those to Young and Taylor, coupled with a belief that men of the church are inspired now as of old; next an infallible Priesthood; a divinely instructed President, or Prophet; a belief in a theocratic form of government; a plurality of Gods; Godhood of Adam; the imparting of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands by the priesthood; a belief in dreams, visions, miracles, and the gift of healing; baptism by immersion; remission of sins by baptism; baptism for the dead; blood atonement, or the power of the church to decree death for violations of the law of the church; celestial marriages, or the marriage state after death; plurality of wives; Godhood attained by mortals after death; humanity of the Deity or Deities; resurrection of the body in bodily form; rejection of lazy men from salvation; the assertion that Christ was a polygamist. In the original "Articles of Faith," contained in the "Pearl of Great Price," occurs the very significant and truthful declaration: "We believe all things, we hope all things."

It is noticeable that this extraordinary organization offers a bit of spiritual pabulum to persons of every nation, tribe, and religion, from the Hottentot up. There is no system that has provided for its advocates a wider range of doctrine. If the Mormon is true to the church, he may accept almost everything that was ever inserted in a religious creed; or, if we may judge from the practice, as little as may suit his convenience. But he *must* be true to the church, its work, and its priesthood. The infernal regions yawn for an apostate. The power of Mormonism, however, can hardly be traced to the tenacity with which its adherents cling to their

dogmas. The almost marvelous organization of its elaborate priesthood is what holds, chains, and subdues them, with its mystic forms and secret ceremonies. Its fingers of steel within the glove of velvet never relax their grasp upon minds at once ignorant and superstitious.

Mr. Cannon asserts for his people, a belief in the Bible. Will he state by whom or by what the Bible is to be construed? His statement is liable to mislead. Let me quote from good Mormon authority, P. P. Pratt, in his "Key to Theology":

"A General Assembly, Quorum or Grand Council of the Gods, with their President at their head, constitutes the designing and creative power."

This polytheistic declaration presents a little different version from the ordinary construction given to the book of Genesis, as to the creative power. The following, from the same author, is not usually found in Sunday-school catechisms:

"An immortal man, possessing a perfect organization of spirit, flesh and bones, and perfect in his attributes, in all the fulness of celestial glory, is called a God.

"An immortal man in progress of perfection, or quickened with a lesser degree of glory, is called an Angel.

"An immortal spirit of man, not united with a fleshly tabernacle, is called a Spirit.

"An immortal man, clothed with a mortal tabernacle, is called a Man.

The doctrine of "blood atonement," says Mr. Cannon, "and all there is about *that* charge, . . . . is that the people believe in the Biblical doctrine that men who commit murder, adultery, *and other gross crimes*, should be executed, and as they do not believe in hanging, one of their early laws gives the criminal convicted of murder the privilege of electing the mode of execution." The italics have been supplied. Here is an admission that deserves notice. It has been charged and denied that in days past the Mormons had sanctioned murder. Here is an admission of a *belief* in blood atonement. Scores of other witnesses, out of the church, testify that it has been *practiced*. Since Mr. Cannon admits the *belief*, must we deny the evidence of those who assert the practice?

The facts are that the Mormon church made for itself laws. For the infraction of some of them, it attached the death penalty. It then proceeded to execute those laws, and put to death by peculiar processes, parties who had been adjudged guilty, by the competent legal tribunal having jurisdiction. Under stress of religious fanaticism, some of the parties adjudged guilty under these ecclesiastical rules executed the law upon themselves, and by dictation of the priesthood. Stripped of all disguises, all subterfuges exposed, this was simply *murder and suicide*.

For proof of the teachings of the church on the subject of blood atonement, it is only necessary to refer to the files of the *Deseret News* for the years 1855 and 1856.

For the future home and state of man, the Mormon church drops the

Bible, and takes up a vision of Joseph Smith's, and Pratt, in his "Key to Theology," thus sums it:

1st. "The Telestial, or least Heaven, typified by the stars of the firmament."
2d. "The Terrestial, or intermediate Heaven, typified by the moon."
3d. "The Celestial, or third Heaven, of which the sun of the firmament is typical."

Mr. Pratt also asserts for his church a faith in dreams, visions and miracles, together with the leading ideas of modern Spiritualism. Mr. Cannon says that the Mormons believe in salvation through Christ, but Mr. Pratt's denunciations of Christianity and Christendom are so sweeping and so bitter that the average reader will regret that Mr. Cannon has made the assertion.

The conspicuous feature of Mormon belief, however, is the one concerning marriage. They marry for this world and the next. They beget children in this world and in the next. Their glory in heaven is declared to be in proportion to their celestial families. They "seal" to themselves wives for eternity, who may, or may not be wives for time; professedly a platonic marriage. Not to marry is to doom one's self to a very gloomy and leaden-colored hereafter. Originally plural marriages were given only to the truly good and pure of the church, as a reward for exceeding piety. This rule has been considerably relaxed of late. Men are expected to marry as much as they conveniently can. To obviate mistakes, divorces can be obtained for ten dollars.

Polygamy was not one of the original doctrines of Mormonism. It was revealed to Smith at Nauvoo, in 1843. It is charged that Smith and others practiced it prior to that time, and that the revelation came at a very convenient season and avoided somewhat of scandal. The Book of Mormon condemns it. This is one of the changes wrought by special revelation. The Doctrine and Covenants, in an edition by John Taylor, published in 1845, *two years after* the revelations to Smith, under the head of marriage contains this declaration:

"Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have but one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."

The charge that these people indulged in degrading practices, which were sanctioned by a pretended revelation from God, and then deliberately published and maintained to the outside world bare-faced falsehoods, in denial, seems well sustained from their own records.

This book (the Doctrines and Covenants) Mr. Cannon quotes from, in his article in the *North American Review*, to sustain a position he therein assumes. Hear him:

"The book which contains the doctrine of the church, *and which is esteemed the word of God, and binding upon them by its members*, is of itself a complete refutation

of the assertions that the religion of the people prompts them to commit crime, to cling to ignorance, to disregard authority, to set up the laws of the church against the laws of the State, or to yield to priestly authority."

Mr. Cannon wishes us to accept the declarations of this book, as indicating the faith and practice of his people. Do we understand from this that he wishes us to disbelieve that polygamy exists in Utah? The book declares that polygamy is not practiced. Why does not Mr. Cannon quote from it, and deny that polygamy exists in Utah? He says his book is "binding" upon his people, and quotes it to prove that they *are* law-abiding. It also proves that Mormons do not practice polygamy. He says the book is "esteemed the word of God." Why practice then what the "word of God" denounces? especially since the *law* of the land brands the practice a crime. A law-abiding people are they? Why not obey *this* law against polygamy?

Again, it will be observed that Mr. Cannon asserts for his people that they do not "set up the laws of the Church against the laws of the State."

Why then, in the Endowment House, in Salt Lake City, does his church compel every novitiate to make oath that they will obey the law of the Mormon church in preference—*in preference*, those are the words—to the laws of the United States? Why does his church also compel them to swear that they will avenge the death of Joseph Smith upon the American people, and to teach this idea of revenge to "their children, and their children's children?" These oaths are daily taken in the Endowment House, and yet the "word of God," so "binding" upon his people, asserts the duty of fealty to the government! Mr. Cannon had better call another witness.

Again he says:

"In Utah, plural marriages were contracted for many years, when there was no law prohibiting them. . . . Shall the husbands throw off the wives and children obtained under such circumstances, and leave them to bear all the consequences which the opinion of the world would inflict? The men of Utah are not such scoundrels and poltroons as so commit such a crime against heaven and humanity as this!"

A murderer has just thrust his knife to the hilt into the heart of his victim. Kneeling on his prostrate body, he lifts his eyes to heaven, and declares that he is not such a "poltroon" and "scoundrel" as to withdraw the blade and let out all the precious life-blood. Not he!

It will be noticed that Mr. Cannon has just attempted to prove that the men of Utah are a law-abiding people. Here he asserts positively that they will not obey this law against polygamy. The difficulty that Mr. Cannon mourns over, in the genesis of his article, of finding some one "who can explain the true character of their system," is a real one doubtless. He is troubled concerning the future of the wives and children obtained *prior* to the passage of the law prohibiting polygamy. What will he say to the future of those obtained *since* the passage of the law? The law was passed in 1862. Brigham Young married Amelia six months

thereafter. Nineteen years since, the law was passed. One priest testified, in the case of "Miles *vs.* The United States," that he had helped to marry as many as forty couples in one day; and, since the law, more polygamous marriages in the last five years than in any other five years of the life of the church. Many of those married nineteen years ago are dead. Would it not have heen well for Mr. Cannon to have referred to the *many* marriages since the law, as well as to the *few* hefore the law.

"How shall polygamy he broken up?" asks Mr. Cannon. "This is a practical question," he says, "and must he met in a practical way." Is he in earnest? If so, here is a "practical" suggestion. If a "revelation" should come to President Taylor, directing the church to treat all polygamous marriages as platonic, henceforth, and that all polygamous husbands should continue to he charged with the support and care, under suitahle regulations, of their wives and children, until such time as the wives might ohtain from the church a divorce, and marry some one possessed of no wife; and if the United States Government should legitimate all polygamous children hy statute, and protect the honor of all polygamous wives, would not the future of these wives and children he provided for? Mr. Cannon says that some of his people offer up prayer for the cure of diphtheria. If they should all, of one accord, offer up prayer for such a "revelation" as has heen suggested, would not the Almighty he as apt to grant the request as he would to cure a case of diphtheria? Such a revelation would he hailed with tears of joy hy more than one polygamous wife in Utah. Said one of these to an eminent lady physician of Washington, who was visiting Salt Lake City recently: "We helieve polygamy came to us hy Divine command. When the Lord has done with it, we will have done." And then, with a prophetic look in her eye, she added: "I am watching my way out. God speed the day."

In common with other advocates of polygamy, and apologists for their system, Mr. Cannon asserts that there is little or no prostitution in Utah, and that for many years the crime of adultery was unknown among Mormons. This fact is due, they say, to polygamy, and these crimes, in Christian communities, are charged as natural results of monogamy. This claim of exceeding purity is not well founded. During the days of "the Reformation," in 1856 and 1857, it is asserted, on good authority, that Brigham Young took occasion to call upon all those who had been guilty of certain hase crimes to rise and stand upon their feet, and to receive ahsolution, if a pledge of purity for the future was given. So many rose that day, that to have executed them all under the law would have ruined the church.

It is a grave question just how much of credit should he given to a people, who, under their ecclesiastical law, have such latitude for the haser passions, when marriage and divorce, under color of religious sanction, are made the ready ministers of lust. If, when in our cities the debauchee entered the puhlic hrothel, a minister stood ready to marry him, and as

he passed out a judge conferred the wished for decree of divorce, and this was permitted by the law, bow much inducement would tbere be offered to hreak tbe law, and tbereby commit crime?

Says Mr. Cannon: "There can he no greater mistake than to suppose that sensuality is tbe foundation of this system of marriage." Doubtless there are many honest polygamists in Utah; religious fanaticism bas blinded many well-meaning persons in the world. But is it not possible to preserve the outward forms of polygamous Mormon law, and yet compel it to minister to passion solely, and without a spark of religious fire? Has it not heen thus used? Religion is of tbe heart; marriage and divorce are mere forms; and if so permitted under law, would cloak any degree of immorality and lust. They *have* been so used. To deny it is to falsify the history of a score of court records.

Again, says the Mormon apologist, "We are no worse than you. Many of your citizens practice what polygamy permits with us, and sanctions." Can effrontery go fartber than this? Because crimes are committed, must a church put in its creed a *cloak* for crime? In polygamous Mormonism, religion and ecclesiastical law are dragged down into the mud and mire of sensuality, and made to gild witb respectability what the civilized world spurns and execrates. The world will be prone to believe that tbe *intelligent* advocate of polygamy is actuated by some otber motive than a sincere desire for his soul's salvation.

It is to be hoped tbat the people of the United States will not look with complacency upon the growtb of a social system tbat will permit their critics to classify them with Mobammedans, Hindoos, Fuegians, Caribs and Hottentots. Wben advocates and defenders of a social system are driven to the necessity of declaring that there are worse pictures than theirs in the rogues' galleries, worse citizens tban theirs arraigned at tbe bars of police courts; worse systems than theirs extant in barharous tribes and semi-civilized nations, or that worse systems existed two thousand years ago, tbey sbould be commended to tbat verse in Proverhs: "A whip for tbe horse, a bridle for tbe ass, and a rod for the fool's hack." Tbey will have reached tbe end of argument long before.

Quotations from tbe Biblical record, showing tbe lewdness of some of the hest men of the Mosaic dispensation, are also used to give warrant for a continuance of hase practices in tbe nineteenth century and in the United States.

> "And thus I clothe my naked villainy
> With old odd ends stol'n forth of Holy Writ,
> And *seem* a saint, when most I play the devil."

Tbe disguise is incomplete.

"In tbe public mind," says Mr. Cannon, "the system of plural marriages in Utah is often confounded with higamy." Quite true, quite natural, and not at all surprising, since the law of the United States makes it

so. Enacted in 1862, thus reads the statute: "Every person, having a husband or wife living, who marries another, whether married or single, in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, is guilty of bigamy." "But that crime, as usually committed, inflicts grave wrong upon innocent parties," says Mr. Cannon. Truth again; and it is because that crime, "as usually committed" by the Mormon church, inflicts grave wrong upon innocent parties, that it is to be hoped it may be speedily suppressed.

"A man marries a woman," continues Mr. Cannon, "he afterward deserts her, and marries another. From the second he conceals the fact that he already has a wife; both are wronged and deceived, and society is outraged." More truth! Precisely the effect of this crime. Precisely what the Mormon church has practiced—sent elders abroad by the score to proselyte: concealed carefully the fact that polygamy was practiced in the church at Utah; deceived ignorant but innocent people; converted them to Mormonism; forwarded them to Salt Lake; and there, when safely in the priestly toils, *for the first time*, told them the whole truth. "But this is not the patriarchal marriage of the Latter Day Saints," concludes Mr. Cannon. Ah, indeed! But it *is* very like it, in many, many cases; and we have it upon the authority of an ex-officer of the Mormon church, that some years since, a Mormon elder held a public discussion at Boulogne, in which he attempted to prove that polygamy was *not* practiced in Utah, when at the time he was married to four wives, was courting still another lady, from whom he carefully concealed the fact that he had any wife at all! Polygamous Mormons do not have to desert the first wife in order to marry another. If the first feels that she is too badly outraged to stay, and makes too much trouble, a convenient divorce relieves the situation.

Says an earnest Mormon advocate, on the law of heredity, and in defense of polygamy:

> "Our physical organization, health, vigor, strength of body in faculties, inclinations, etc., are influenced very much by parentage. Hereditary disease, idiocy, weakness of mind or of constitution, deformity, tendency to violent and ungovernable passions, vicious appetites and desires, are engendered by parents, and are bequeathed as a heritage from generation to generation."

True, every word of it. And the testimony of visitors to Salt Lake City, native and foreign, with practical unanimity goes to prove that these transmitted evils exist to a pre-eminent degree in Mormon progeny. Says one of these who visited Salt Lake in 1862, and was for awhile the guest of Brigham Young: "The children of the saints have a bad name for precocious depravity." Says another, who was there two years since: "I had an opportunity to see several thousand children pass in review or procession before me. They certainly were a very inferior lot." Says another: "It would be impossible to collect, even from our great cities, as many children so unprepossessing." The mortality among children at Salt Lake

City is also remarkable, considering the general salubrity of the climate. New Orleans is the only city in the United States that reports so great a death-rate.

Mother and daughter are often wives of the same man. The jealousies between the wives make inevitable discords in the polygamous family. The children breathe a vitiated air; there is no privacy, no oneness of sentiment, *no home*. If rich, the wives live separately from each other. If poor, they are herded together in one or two rooms. At the best, in the rearing of children, polygamy and monogamy present about the same differences that exist between an "orphan asylum" and the loving, pure circle of a Christian home.

A review of polygamous Mormonism, however brief, would not be satisfactory, without an attempt at least to answer some questions which suggest themselves as of common interest to the statesman, the divine, and the philanthropist.

What is the secret of Mormon success? Why so strong? How buttressed and defended? How can so erroneous a system ever become dangerous? All these questions can be answered in a single word—*organization*. The hands of the church are upon everything in Utah. The eyes of the church are upon every person. The ears of the church hear every word spoken, and its power is everywhere felt. Every Mormon is taught that he is of a brotherhood, chosen of God; that every one will be a prince and a priest of the Most High, in the world to come. The officers of his church are divinely commissioned, hold the keys of the beatific hereafter, reserved for the faithful saints, and are the infallible guides of the people in temporal matters. Church and State are joined in indissoluble bonds; the church always the controlling head and fountain of authority. When, under law, there seems to be an impassable gulf fixed between these two, and the forms of an election and of law-making are gone through with, the church inspires every Mormon official, dictates every local law, and forecasts the result of every election. "Theology," wrote P. P. Platt, "is the science by which worlds are organized, sustained, and directed, and the elements controlled; all other sciences being but branches of this, the root." This declaration, in all possible fullness of construction, is the fundamental law of the Mormon church.

In Utah there is an official, of some sort, to about every five persons. For a description of their organism there can be no clearer statement than that found in the March number of the *North American Review*, in an article from the pen of C. C. Goodwin, who presents to us the whole scheme, in the exact language of a Mormon Bishop, Henry Lunt, of Cedar City, Utah:

"First, there is a President, and he has two Counselors. Second, there are twelve Apostles. The President is one of them, and there are eleven others. Each of them receives a salary of $1,500 per annum. The President wields an authority equal to

that of the other eleven. Third, there are seven Presidents designated as the Presidents of the Seventies. Fourth, come the Seventies, with seven Presidents over each, and a President over each of the Sevens. Fifth, come the Seventies, each body of which consists of seventy Elders. There are eighty of these Seventies in Utah, and they are compelled to report at least annually. These constitute the general authorities of the church. Sixth, is the Head Patriarch of the church. This dignity is hereditary when the candidate is worthy. The Head Patriarch resides at Salt Lake City, and blesses the people by the laying on of hands. The present incumbent of that sacred position is John Smith, the nephew of Prophet Joseph Smith. Seventh, there is a Presiding Bishop, who attends to the collection of tithes. Eighth, Zion is divided into twenty-three Stakes, each of which has a President. Each Stake is subdivided into wards, and each ward into districts. Each district has a quorum of Teachers, whose business it is to visit each family periodically, and look after the spiritual welfare of its members. Each district has a meeting-house, Sunday-school, day-school, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, primary association for small children which meets on Saturdays, and usually a dramatic society. Our people at Cedar City have a brass band, a co-operative store, a co-operative tannery, and a co-operative grist-mill which cost ten thousand dollars. Ninth, come the priests and deacons. In the world the priests preach and baptize, but do not lay on hands. The wisdom of man could never have devised a church organization like that. Out of a total population of 150,000, there are 30,000 children in Utah under eight years of age. We have a Sunday-school organization known as the Deseret Sunday-school Union, of which George Q. Cannon is Superintendent; he is our Delegate to Congress. Then we have a perpetual immigration fund, in charge of President Albert Carrington. With this we assist in gathering our converts to these valleys. All nations are here represented."

Of the designs of the church, to the same correspondent Bishop Lunt said:

"Like a grain of mustard-seed was the truth planted in Zion, and it is destined to spread through all the world. Our church has been organized only fifty years, and yet behold its wealth and power. This is our year of jubilee. We look forward with perfect confidence to the day when we will hold the reins of the United States government. That is our present temporal aim; after that we expect to control the continent."

When told by the correspondent that such a scheme seems somewhat visionary, considering the fact that Utah cannot secure recognition as a State, the bishop's reply was:

"Do not be deceived; we are looking after that. We do not care for these Territorial officials sent out to govern us. They are nobodies here. We do not recognize them, neither do we fear any practical interference by Congress. We intend to have Utah recognized as a State. To-day we hold the balance of political power in Idaho, we rule Utah absolutely, and in a very short time we will hold the balance of power in Arizona and Wyoming. A few months ago, President Snow of St. George, set out with a band of priests for an extensive tour through Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Arizona, to proselyte. We also expect to send missionaries to some parts of Nevada, and we design to plant colonies in Washington Territory.

"In the past six months we have sent more than 3,000 of our people down through the Sevier valley to settle in Arizona, and the movement still progresses. All this will build up for us a political power which will, in time, compel the homage of the dema-

gogues of the country. Our vote is solid, and will remain so. It will be thrown where the most good will be accomplished for the church. Then, in some great political crisis, the two present political parties will bid for our support. Utah will then be admitted as a polygamous State, and the other Territories we have peacefully subjugated will be admitted also. We will then hold the balance of power, and will dictate to the country. In time, our principles, which are of sacred origin, will spread throughout the United States. We possess the ability to turn the political scale in any particular community we desire. Our people are obedient. When they are called by the church, they promptly obey. They sell their houses, lands, and stock, and remove to any part of the country the church may direct them to. You can imagine the results which wisdom may bring about, with the assistance of a church organization like ours It is the completest the world has ever seen. We have another advantage. We are now and shall always be in favor of woman suffrage. The women of Utah vote, and they never desert the colors of the church in a political contest. They vote for the tried friends of the church, and what they do here they will do everywhere our principles and our institutions spread."

As readily as water seeks its level, so readily do the orders of the infallible priesthood, by the agency of the subtle mechanism here developed, reach the most obscure member of the church, in the most distant Mormon settlement, and the whole mass is electrified with the impulses of the master-mind, and molded into the desired form.

It must be borne in mind that the Gentile element in the population of Utah is inconsiderable. The legislative branch of the Territorial government is entirely in the hands of the church, subject only to the veto power of the Governor, and the annulling power of Congress. These two checks to legislative enactments are powerful enough, but are not often applied. The local legislation of the Territory was largely devised in the reign of Brigham Young, who, as Governor, of course did not use the veto power against his own will. To avoid anti-church influences and interferences on the part of Congress, the legislative power has been largely delegated to corporations, so extensive in jurisdiction that all the valuable lands, and the irrigating streams, are under their control. They legislate very little in the Territorial legislature, but very much in their municipal corporations. They have put the law of their municipalities against the law of the organic act. They have devised a system of escheats, by which the estates of deceased persons have been confiscated to the church, without power on the part of the heirs to obtain their own, or punish the robbers. Their justices' courts have a wide jurisdiction—are final in many important cases, and when appeals properly lie to a higher court they are often arbitrarily denied. The power of the Federal courts has been invaded, and the authority of the Federal officers alternately denied and usurped. In short, their local legislation has been most iniquitous. By its use, coupled with the power of a priestly despotism, working upon ignorant and fanatical masses, the Mormon hierarchy has plundered its poor dupes, in the name of the Lord, most mercilessly, filling the coffers of the church to which they have the keys, by extortions and impositions the most shameless.

A Federal officer of Utah, writing to the Attorney-General of the United States, under date of July 11, 1879, says:

"The suit that has been begun by Brigham Young's heirs, has revealed the fact (or I should say has made it more prominent, for it was understood before), that the Mormon church owns millions of dollars in property, which is held by its trustee and other good Mormons. By law they are entitled to only $50,000 (see Revised Statutes, Sec. 1890). Since the passage of this act, they have accumulated more than one million of dollars"

It will be observed that the "infallible priesthood" has substantial, as well as spiritual, reasons for tenacity of faith.

Whatever else there may be in Utah, there are few drones. Everybody is expected to work. Mormon wives lead no lives of idleness. They must very nearly support themselves. Some do more. Self-support will not answer the demands of the priesthood. Tithes must be brought into the Lord's storehouse.

Mr. Cannon remarks that "taxation is lighter than in any of the other Territories, and than many of the States." Territorial taxation proper is always light; but when to that tax-list is added the municipal tax, the water-rates, and the ten per cent. of church tithes, we find the Mormons are carrying a burden like that imposed upon Israel by the Egyptian taskmaster. While the church taxes are not collected by legal process, the collection is none the less sure. The business of the Mormons is largely conducted through a mammoth co-operative association, under the management of the church, which has its hand upon every interest of its people, religious, political, business, and social.

It requires no extended examination of the Mormon system to discern that everything the ingenuity of man could invent has been called in to aid in its organization, and make impregnable its defenses. There is not a more rigidly administered despotism on earth, either civil or religious, and never has been. Broad-based, its foundation stones in every household, it has stood thus far "a tower of strength, foursquare to all the winds that blew." Every incentive of human action has been invoked, and embraced in the scheme. No matter how wild, visionary, false or atrocious might be the religious faith of a man, Mormonism has had something with which to satisfy him. Let some poor devotee reach out his hand for anything, high or low, and a Mormon priest offers to fill it. Janus-faced, if he aspires, the priesthood with mock humility points solemnly upward. If he grovels, the priesthood with lecherous leers bows with him in the mire of sensuality, Whatever his mood, lofty sentiment, base desire, or ignoble passion, a promise of satisfaction is at once given —*if he will be true to the church.*

Polygamous Mormonism, treasonable at heart to the Republic, an enemy to pure religion, is dangerous just in proportion as it has power to enforce its desires; for its civil and religious creed is diametrically opposed to the institutions of any free Republican system. In disproving the

charge of disloyalty made against the Mormon church, Mr. Cannon, in his recent article, says: "When they fled to the Rocky Mountains, they did not forget that they were American citizens. They hoisted the stars and stripes, and announced their determination to live under the Constitution of their fathers."

True—they *did* hoist the "stars and stripes"—when? In 1847, when the territory they occupied was *Mexican* soil, *not* the property of the United States. But ten years later, when the United States *did* own the territory, Brigham Young declared the independence of the State of Deseret, and began war upon his country. "Announced their determination to live under the Constitution of their fathers," yet compel their people to swear that they will support the constitution of the Mormon church in preference. Says a better authority than Mr. Cannon: "No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other." Which does the Mormon hate or despise, Mormon Theocracy, or free Republicanism?

In defense of polygamy, the Mormon hierarchy has loved to quote and dwell long upon the provisions of the first amendment to the Constitution, which reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, etc."

As construed by the priesthood, there were few crimes that could not be committed against a fellow-citizen, or the State, with impunity, under the guise of religious belief.

Fortunately in the matter under consideration, and in its relation to this amendent, we are not left to baffling and conflicting opinions. The Supreme Court, in the case of Reynolds *vs.* the United States (98 U. S., 145), has given a construction to the amendment in question. Chief Justice Waite, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said:

"Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion, but was left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties, or subversive of good order."

In this case (a prosecution for higamy), the attorney in the Court below had asked the Court to instruct the jury, that if they found from the evidence that the man iudicted for higamy (being a Mormon polygamist) "was married as charged"—married "in pursuance of, and in conformity with what he believed at the time to be, a religious duty, the verdict must be not guilty." The request was refused, and the Supreme Court sustained the Court below on the point raised.

In reference to the statute of the United States, which has been already quoted, the Chief Justice said:

"It is constitutional and valid as prescribing a rule of action for all those residing in the Territories and in places over which the United States have exclusive control.

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This being so, the only question which remains is, whether those who make polygamy a part of their religion are excepted from the operation of the statute. If they are, then those who do not make polygamy a part of their religious belief may be found guilty and punished, while those who do must be acquitted and go free. This would be introducing a new element into criminal law. Laws are made for the government of actions, and, while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices. Suppose one believed that human sacrifices were a necessary part of religious worship, would it be seriously contended that the civil government under which he lived could not interfere to prevent a sacrifice? Or if a wife religiously believed it was her duty to burn herself upon the funeral pile of her dead husband, would it be beyond the power of the civil government to prevent her carrying her belief into practice?"

And the further points were made, that by the laws of every State, plural marriages are forbidden; that polygamy has always been branded by civilized nations as crime. The English Statutes (1 Jas., 1 chap., 11) made it punishable in the civil courts, and attached the death penalty. A similar statute was enacted by the colonies. Kent, the great commentator, treats the second marriage as void. Prof. Lieber says: "Polygamy fetters the people in stationary bondage." The law is clear and the controverted questions of constitutionality are settled. Why is not the law enforced? Why is such a fountain of uncleanness not stopped?

In the case just referred to, few of the difficulties of *enforcing* the law came under consideration. In a later case, that of Miles *vs.* the United States, opinion by Justice Woods, delivered in the October term, 1880, a very serious difficulty presented itself. Section 1604 of the laws of Utah provides that

"A husband shall not be a witness for or against his wife, nor a wife a witness for or against her husband."

In this case the evidence of one of the later wives of Miles was offered to prove a marriage with a former one, that the crime of bigamy might thus be established against Miles. The marriage with the first wife was denied; the marriage with the second, or the one whose testimony was desired, was admitted; and thereupon the defendant, under the statute just quoted, objected to the introduction of this last one as a witness. The Court below overruled the objection, and the case came up in error to the Supreme Court. In delivering the opinion of the Court, Justice Woods says:

"Until the fact of the marriage of Emily Spencer (first wife) with the plaintiff in error was established, Caroline Owens (second wife) was *prima facie* his wife, and she could not be used as a witness against him.

"The ground upon which a second wife is admitted as a witness against her husband, in a prosecution for bigamy, is that she is shown not to be a real wife by proof of the fact that the accused had previously married another wife, who was still living and still his lawful wife. It is only in cases where the first marriage is not controverted, or has been duly established by other evidence, that the second wife is allowed to testify, and she can then be a witness to the second marriage, and not to the first.

"The testimony of the second wife to prove the only controverted issue in the case, namely, the first marriage, cannot he given to the jury on the pretext that its purpose is to establish her competency. As her competency depends on proof of the first marriage, and that is the issue upon which the case turns, that issue must be established hy other witnesses before the second wife is competent for any purpose. Even then she is not competent to prove the first marriage, for she cannot be admitted to prove a fact to the jury which must he established hefore she can testify at all.

"Witnessee who are *prima facie* competent, hut whose competency is disputed, are allowed to give evidence on their *voir dire* to the court upon some collateral issue, on which their competency depends, hut the testimony of a witness who is *prima facie* incompetent cannot he given to the jury upon the very issue in the case, in order to establish his competency, and at the eame time prove the issue. The authorities sustain these views."

He further says:

"It is made clear hy the record that polygamous marriagee are so celebrated in Utah as to make the proof of polygamy very difficult They are conducted in secret, and the persons hy whom they are solemnized are under such obligations of eccrecy, that it is almost impossihle to extract the facts from them when placed upon the witness stand. If hoth wives are excluded from testifying to the first marriage, as we think they should he under the existing rules of evidence, testimony sufficient to convict in a prosecution for polygamy in the Territory of Utah is hardly attainable. But this is not a consideration hy which we can be influenced We must administer the law as we find it. The remedy is with Congress. hy enacting such a change in the law of evidence in the Territory of Utah as to make hoth wives witnesses on indictments for higamy."

Under the act of 1850, organizing the Territory of Utah, the Federal Government has exclusive control of affairs. Laws passed by the legislature must he approved hy the Governor, and he is appointed hy the President; hesides, they may he set aside, or annulled hy Congress The judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory are also appointed hy the President. As a Territory it is under control. As a State it would hecome independent, of course, to a great extent, suhject only to the Constitution of the United States, and its own Constitution. As a Territory, with a little legislation on the part of Congress, polygamy can be suppressed within its borders. As a State, it is doubtful whether it would ever be exterminated.

Polygamy is on the increase in Utah. Governor Neill, of Idaho, also makes it the suhject of a special message, and indicates the cause of its rapid development, in language as truthful and outspoken as it is startling to those who have felt that polygamous Mormonism was so "remote" and so "weak" that it needed no attention from the country. He says:

"Polygamy is a doctrine of the Mormon church, and the practice is urged and made ohligatory upon the members of the church, for the purpose of hinding them more firmly to the organization. The Mormon leaders have shrewdly calculated, that hy making the society a large community of interest in crime, its members can be the more easily persuaded and influenced to aid in carrying into execution the political schemes of the priesthood. . . . . From the penalties of the law, the

polygamist naturally goes for protection and defense to the church. . . . . Again the practice is calculated to draw to the Mormon church the most vicious and sensual classes of society."

Polygamous Mormonism was never stronger than now. There is no growing evil that more loudly demands the careful and conscientious attention of statesmen.

The elements of evil and of danger can be naturally marshalled in two groups, one having relation most directly to the State, the other affecting more specifically morality and Christian civilization. In guarding against the first, we can legitimately appeal to Congress and the National Executive. For averting the second, we must rely upon the same great moral forces that have Christianized the world. In both directions speedy and decisive *action* should he had. Convention resolutions, however good, will not remove the thorn from the side of wounded society.

As early as 1853, this remarkable organization had in Great Britain alone 30,000 communicants, 8 high priests, 40 quorums of seventies, 2,500 elders, 1,800 priests, 1,400 teachers, and 800 deacons, all engaged in the work of proselyting for the church, and preparing them for emigration to the Zion in Utah. Several hundreds of their priests are now abroad proselyting. Their books are in all languages, their missionaries are in nearly all lands where they are not prohibited by law from preaching. "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?" Mormon "stakes" have been set with pile-drivers, driven with a church machinery more elaborate than any other in the world. They will not be pried out of place by knitting-needles. Archimedean levers will be required.

It has heen urged that the whole matter can he safely left to the irrepressible conflict of free opinions; that out of it the true will be evoked, and the false engulfed. It has heen thus left. Nineteen years ago the people of the United States placed upon the page of the nation's laws, a clear expression of their wish as to one phase of social relationship. The Supreme Court has decided that they have the right so to do. For nineteen years the wish has been disregarded—sneered at. The laws which hind the citizens of every State in the Union, fail to bind the citizens of Utah. "*Gentile* polygamists," says a recent writer, "are in jail." A *Mormon* polygamist is in Congress. How? Why? Read any of the arguments by which it is sought to be proved that the wisest course to pursue is to "let it alone," "let it die of natural, inbred diseases," and hy inserting the word slavery where we now see polygamy we shall find ourselves face to face with the same logic in vogue about the time of the adoption of the Constitution, when the clear, right line of good governmental policy was ohscured, and that great evil from a small beginning was allowed to grow undisturbed, until it had absorbed so many interests, formed in its advocates so many habits, and grown so great by what it fed upon, that when the struggle came hetween Slavery and Freedom, the nation was

purged of its evil in a convulsion that well-nigh took its life. It is to he hoped that history will not repeat of polygamy what it has written of slavery. Our constitution is strong and elastic, it has horne much, hut it could not hear slavery. Will it hold, under the strain of polygamy?

There are many heresies and schisms in the church. That is not to be denied. But they have existed heretofore, and no organization is free from them. In spite of their disintegrating influence, the evil as a whole grows. Something akin to the power that produced the excrescence must be employed to remove it

It has heen asked why the dissatisfied ones do not hreak away from their honds. Why did not the negro emancipate himself? A world has heen created for them to live in; an atmosphere made for them to breathe; children have heen horn to them; a hope of heaven inspired in them, hy way of Mormonism; a fear of what the world will say of them has heen taught. Within is *all* they have. Without they know not what is in store for them, and they cling to their delusive system in hopes that hy and hy, they know not when nor how, a way of escape will he opened to them.

Shall they he disappointed? With the Mormon church, as such, asserting its peculiar belief, maintaining its dogmas, however atrocious, and securing its proselytes hy the power of the press and the pulpit, the Government has little to do, if it violates no law of the land, and does not outrage the civil polity of the Republic. Their fantastic rites and deluding ceremonies ought to be abolished, and will he, hut hy other forces. The Mormon has as good a legal right to his religious helief and church worship, as the Methodist, or the Episcopalian, has to his. All sects, however, must he under the law of the land. There must he no divided sovereignty. In the realm of law the State dominates.

In invoking the aid of Congress and the executive, it will be well to ask for one thing at a time. Polygamy, the central figure of Mormonism, is its chief ahomination. The Supreme Court has indicated a needful remedy at the hands of Congress. Ask for it, and whatever else is needed to enahle the officers of Utah to detect, convict, and punish polygamy. Congress may he slow to act; it usually is. Reformers are not always in Congress; great and wise ones, hut seldom. Reforms do not usually owe their origin to the city of Washington. Legislators are conservative. The sovereign of the United States is not in the capitol, nor is he domiciled in the White House. The declarations of the campaign speaker are true, after all. The scepter *is* in the hande of *the People*. The residence of our sovereign is the home of the citizen. The ministers always at court, and through whom he can always be reached, and to whom he always yields a ready response, are a free press, a free pulpit, and a free platform. Invoke the aid of these trusted servants, and when the sovereign speaks, Senators and Cahinets and Congressmen will *act*, and stand not on the order of their acting, in haste to ohey. The statute asked for will he forthcoming.

The subject of polygamy may come before Congress, brought there upon questions growing out of the recent election of a delegate from that Territory. No person, whether guilty of crime or not, can be excluded from the Senate, or House of Representatives, by *law*, since the Constitution provides that "each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." Just how far Congress would deem it wise to carry the analogy between the elections, returns, and qualifications of a delegate and a member of Congress, it is impossible to state.

The act of 1850, organizing Utah as a Territory, declares that the qualifications of voters at the *first* election shall be, "citizens of the United States," "white males, twenty-one years of age and upward." For all subsequent elections the qualifications are subject to the provisions of the Territorial legislature and the approval of Congress.

*All* Mormons are not polygamists, and if those who practice it were disfranchised, the election to Congress of a person guilty of that crime would be well-nigh impossible. It is to be hoped that so harsh a remedy will not become necessary. We certainly have a right to expect that the people of Utah will, under milder treatment, see the folly and treasonableness of maintaining very much longer their attitude of open defiance to law. If disfranchisement is the only course that will prove finally efficacious, *let it come*, for a religious and civil despotism, lodged in the midst of the nation, defying its just laws, *must* be extirpated, and by the employment of that degree of severity which its stubbornness may demand.

Turning from the realm of law and of government, and the remedies we seek there, we must also invoke the aid of purely moral forces for the suppression of those evils with which law and government have nothing to do. Ignorance and superstition are of one family. Fanaticism is only misplaced and misapplied zeal. Truth is the cure for all moral maladies. Greater and more convincing than law, more powerful than all the enginery of government, is the influence of the life, example, and death of that Personage who preached in Galilee, eighteen hundred years ago, the Sermon on the Mount. Let the light of truth shine in upon this gloomy error. Pour the literature of the gospel into that valley, in an unstinted flood. Teach that people the old lesson, that between every human soul and its God, there is a direct and open road that even a child can travel with perfect safety. The same beneficent constitution which guards the Mormon in his faith, will protect the Home Missionary and the colporteur in his work. Brush away from the windows of the Mormon soul the dust and cobwebs of credulity and priestly delusion, and let it look out unvexed upon a new world, bathed in the sunlight of God's love, which needs the intervention of no human machinery, no lens of priesthood to give it power over human hearts.

The same methods by which Christianity has been carried into the jungles of India and the wilds of Africa will be required to carry and hold

it in Utah. The citadel of polygamous Mormonism must be invested by a Christian army, as other strongholds of heathenism have been besieged. Without a tinge of persecution, not a color of intolerance, in the spirit of love, not hate, put the right against the wrong, and leave the issue to the Master. Plant the school beside the church. Place the teacher by the side of the missionary. This is a battle to be won with the Bible and the school-book.

There is no free public school in Utah, but an Academy in the charge of a hard-working Christian minister has been established in Salt Lake City. Sustain it—that it may be made to furnish the needed teachers. A little band of devoted women have begun there the anti-polygamy crusade, and have started a paper, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. Aid them. Circulate their paper. If the wives and mothers of America are made fully aware of the extent and character of this degradation of their sex, and informed of the need of their sympathy and support, the on-rushing tide of public sentiment they will set in motion will sweep away polygamy in a year.

Let this organization—the American Home Missionary Society—enter the field in force; call upon the people everywhere for aid. Let it be importunate in its demands.

"And I, if I be lifted up," said the Master, "will draw all men unto me." Lift up the Master in Utah. Plant the sanctified Cross in every valley of the Territory. Place at its foot the purest, broadest-brained, largest-hearted Christian men that can be found, to tell again and again "the old, old story," more potent than the sword, deeper-reaching than the law, and in the fullness of his time, this relic of barbarism, this citadel of error, this moral Bastile, will go down in irreparable disaster, as the walls of Jericho went down before the encompassing hosts of Israel.